5: Grinnell Q,T-5 (ca.1888) 1962
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

606 It was considered a gross breach of propriety for a man to meet his mother-in-law, and if by any mischance he did so, or what was worse, if he spoke to her, she demanded a very heavy payment, which he was obliged to make. The mother-in-law was equally anxious to avoid meeting or speaking to her son-in-law.

5: Grinnell Q,T-5 (ca.1888) 1962
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

If he cannot do so, the things are still presented; for, in the case of a marriage, the relations on both sides are anxious to do all that they can to give the young people a good start in life. When all is ready, the girl goes to the lodge where her husband lives, and goes in. If this lodge is too crowded to receive the couple, the young man will make arrangements for space in the lodge of a brother, cousin, or uncle, where there is more room. These are all his close relations, and he is welcome in any of their lodges, and has rights there.

Sometimes, if two young people are fond of each other, and there is no prospect of their being married, they may take riding horses and a pack horse, and elope at night, going to some other camp for a while. This makes the girl's father angry, for he feels that he has been defrauded of his payments. The young man knows that his father-in-law bears him a grudge, and if he afterwards goes to war and is successful, returning with six or seven horses, he will send them all to the camp where his father-in-law lives, to be tied in front of his lodge. This at once heals the breach, and the couple may return. Even if he has not been successful in war and brought horses, which of course he does not always accomplish, he from time to time sends the old man a present, the best he can. Notwithstanding these efforts at conciliation, the parents feel very bitterly against him. The girl has been stolen. The union is no marriage at all. The old people are ashamed and disgraced for their daughter. Until the father has been pacified by satisfactory payments, there is no marriage. Moreover, unless the young man had made a payment, or at least had endeavored to do so, he would be little thought of among his fellows, and looked down on as a poor creature without any sense of honor.

The Blackfeet take as many wives as they wish; but these ceremonies are only carried out in the case of the first wife, the "sits-beside-him" woman. In the case of subse-

8:/Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

to Bear Chief when she was no more than seven. She married him when she was about seventeen. Some girls married before the age of twelve, but many reached their middle teens before they took this serious step. Few young men married before the age of twenty-one. 584 582

It was considered a family disgrace for an unmarried girl to become pregnant. The girl alone was held responsible for her actions. It was something of a disgrace to the families of both boy and girl if they eloped. The socially approved marriage was an important family function. It was arranged by a close friend or a relative of the boy with the girl's father or elder brother. Marriage was simply solemnized by an exchange of gifts between the families of the bride and groom. The first gifts could be offered by either the bride's or the groom's folks. Horses always were the most prized gift. One or more horses were invariably given, along with robes or blankets and household goods of lesser value. Relatives commonly chipped in to make the marriage gifts as imposing as possible. It was expected that the gifts returned by the spouse's family should be more lavish than those they had received. The bride went to live with her husband in a separate lodge or that of his family. 848 583 584 585 431

My elderly informants were very careful to remind me that white men who claimed the Blackfeet used to purchase their wives were misinformed. They stressed the importance of the exchange of gifts in the old-time Blackfoot marriage ceremony. [583]

After marriage it was improper for the husband to speak directly to his mother-in-law. But his ties with the male members of his wife's family generally became very strong. He commonly gave horses to his elder brother-in-law after his return from a successful horse raid. He sometimes gave him choice buffalo meat after a hunt. 602 [606] [607]

Polygamy was common among the Blackfeet because it was a practical means of caring for the excess of women created by heavy war losses. Women outnumbered men by two or three to one. Possession of several wives was one of the distinguishing marks of the successful man. A few of the leading chiefs had ten 595 [182] [556]

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6 Blood

but despite the unattractiveness of the wage, some of the ambitious still sought these jobs. Loyal service might be rewarded by a convenient marriage.

Although the poor man might raise his status by marrying the daughter of his rich employer, there were many times when he complained of continued exploitation after such a marriage. "Respect" did not always follow. Certain brave souls broke from the trying situation, but many knew that, if you were born poor, the ways and means of getting ahead fast were still few.

Squirrel Man, Yellow Wolf's poor son-in-law, stuck it out. His behavior bespeaks his frustrations. A year after marriage, the young groom brought his bride to her father's place. Here they were given a home of their own, "for Squirrel Man had nothing except what he got from his father-in-law for whom he worked from that time on." He sat in the Sun Lodge which his "chaste" wife put up, but it was her brother, Pointed Plume, who paid most of the expenses, made the large distributions at the give-away, and gained in prestige. Later, when Squirrel Man's sons wanted to farm, they had to borrow horses and wagons from their wealthy uncle. In time, "although he always acted like a brother to Pointed Plume," as one informant put it, the unhappy husband could tolerate his lot no longer. He feigned suicide when his wife persisted in visiting her brother; he flashed a mirror from the hill-top (a conventional invitation to assignation) in an attempt to bolster his ego and make his wife jealous—but in his case there was no eager mistress to answer it; he abandoned his wife and home, only to return meekly a short time later led by the agent; and as a final symbol of his castration, he hastily donned woman's clothes and hid when he was called by the court as a witness.[121]

Other young men preferred to work for the agency or white ranchers, for the money wages received from such employment offered a greater measure of independence. The poor young man no longer had to accept a patronizing handout from a rich relative; he no longer had to be a burden to a poor one. But despite the new opportunities, the economic advantage at marriage would still favor the sons of the rich. The poor young man might have secured some few cattle from a late issue; he might have bought a saddle horse for $100 and a fine saddle for $105; he might even have invested in a few horses, as indeed Ned Sloane did after years of working out. But all

[121] Here and in the case of the man who wanted to murder his wife because he believed she was sleeping with a ghost (see p. 51), abnormal behavior was laid to the eating of peyote. This is particularly interesting since peyote is rarely used by the Blackfoot. Squirrel Man got it from a visiting medicine man—one informant said he was a Crow, another an Osage—who put on a peyote cure for Mrs. Squirrel Man. The other secured the buttons while he was visiting the Crow.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

425 Easy access to good land is no longer possible, and the best of it has been allotted. A young and ambitious Blood must either turn again to wages, as indeed the sons of rich farmers have done, or if he is not content with the marginal land still available, he must wheedle an idle farm from a more [426] fortunate if less industrious tribesman. He may get it as a loan or on a rental [427] basis, but he is never certain how long he will be permitted to crop it. The more successful he is, the more eager the renter will be to reclaim his land [578] and try his hand at it again. Violent conflict and familial hostility frequently result.

556 CHANGING PRESTIGE FACTOR.—Distinctions between rich and poor are 184 still drawn, and frequently these obscure expected behavior. The rich daughter-in-law is served; the poor one does the work. The poor son-in-law [606] is disparaged. Even the impoverished herder or unsuccessful farmer, in [581] memory of a better day, will storm when his daughter marries a poor orphan. A poor sister-in-law said of her rich one, "She always makes me [607] work for her at her house, but she never does anything when she visits me." A poor young wife who may make a simple and justified request will be sarcastically told, "Go home, you *minipoka*." The real "favorite" may exploit his childhood privilege in the face of little criticism even after he has reached adulthood.

593 The beautiful and discontented wife of a poor man may brazenly flaunt 937 her affair with her rich lover, but the unhappy wife of a rich man will find some more dignified way of showing her dissatisfaction. When her husband 577 philanders, she may refuse to cook his food; she may roll up in her own 556 blanket and deny him his conjugal rights; she may leave him, or she may 184 entertain his mistress, ply her with fine gifts, and receive the approbation of society "because she shows no jealousy."

[575] A chief or member of the Horn Society is also roundly applauded when he shows no jealousy; but the poor husband who sits by and silently witnesses the drunken love-making of his wife and her rich lover receives no [593] respect for his restraint. A spoiled and wealthy woman may forbid her [584] "favorite" the house; she may take his horses and disinherit him if she disapproves of his marriage. A woman less economically secure, even if she is known as "manly-hearted," may uphold the authority of her "favorite" at all cost, as the one sure means of maintaining family prestige.

557 The advantages of a good marriage are quickly recognized. A wealthy Pointed Plume will say, "All women chase a rich man." A poor William Curtis will say, "A man should marry his daughter to someone who can take care of her."

178 But the changing status of various groups within Blood society is strik- 581 ingly revealed by an analysis of marriage trends. Thirty years ago marriages still followed the earlier pattern. The wealthy cattle men continued

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

matter whether residence was patrilocal or matrilocal, it was customary for a young married couple to have their own tipi. Today, married children, because of the considerable expense and labor involved in building or buying a modern permanent dwelling, frequently bring their spouses into their parents' home. The arrangement inevitably increases the possibility of discord. If residence is matrilocal, the situation is further complicated by the traditional mother-in-law "avoidance." Some sons-in-law have ceased to observe this taboo either because it is inconvenient or "old-fashioned." While such a breakdown in restraint may lead to a better understanding between a man and his wife's mother, it may as easily lead to a more overt expression of hostility.

Distant Relatives and Friends

Where close familial bonds are so brittle, little can be expected from distant relatives. Henry Arrow-maker, owner of considerable grazing land but no cattle, is on government relief. He spoke eagerly of his rich relative, Bob Double Man, the successful cattle herder. He told of friendly conversations as they met casually in Cardston each week, but only during the summer as he went to and from the beet fields did he stay at Bob's house. The gifts received were nominal indeed: board and lodging for a few days. Such qualities as hospitality and generosity are still stressed as desirables and even "musts" in the society, but since success depends little upon them, they receive more lip service than support. Friends and relatives still extend a cordial invitation, but the welcome quickly cools. With the best of will, the Curtises invited the Sloanes to stay with them and work with us. Within a few days, although the Sloanes paid board and brought presents, Julia Curtis was complaining of the extra work and maneuvering their early departure. Again, at the Sun dance, she complained that none of the guests who dropped in for meals gave her any assistance: "People expect everything these days," she added.

VI. Biographical Sketches

Brief and few though the following sketches are, they reveal in a different way, if not completely, the range of personality types among the Blood, the degree of adaptation to a changing society, and the varying responses to status.

The Men

Head Chief. Blanket Man, fifty-six, came of a line of head chiefs. His grandfather was the old chief, Red Crow, who had signed the treaty of 1877. His father, Crop-eared Wolf, succeeded to the chieftaincy. Blanket Man

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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596 601 male speaker and *nisis.'*[a] for a female speaker).[1] If we extend to ego the position of father in ego's own tipi, we find ego's wife or wives (*nixki.'man*), son (*nuxku'a*) and daughter (*nitan.'a*); for a female speaker the only additional term needed is the word "husband" (*nom.'a*), the co-wives being addressed as "younger sibling" or "older sister."

596 591 592 [601] The nominal character of this group cannot be denied. We have found no linguistic term to delineate these relatives, though there does exist a suffix to distinguish between siblings living with ego from those living elsewhere. As the conjugal Blackfoot family usually lives in a distinct dwelling from the parents, the orientation group contains not a single household unit but two: ego's parents' household and ego's household as a married adult with family. Though the schema implies patrilocal residence, [593] actually residence is multilocal. Our concept, furthermore, does not allow [606] for the fact that a woman is differently oriented toward her parents than a male by dint of his mother-in-law tabu and sororal polygyny. Only among [587] the economically most impoverished, where even two tipis cannot be mus- [735] tered, could such a group exist in practise.

596 602 601 Our justification for such a group lies in the fact that these relatives are points of orientation toward a larger circle of kinsmen. It is as if the persons of one's own tipi are direct relatives of ego while those outside are mediated through some one who lives or has lived with ego. For example, our term "aunt" implies a direct relationship to ego, but "father's sister" would im- [124] ply a relationship mediated through father. Though there is some linguistic evidence for this, more positive evidence is the phrasing of our interpreters and informants. One informant, generalizing the forms of address of his affinal relatives, explained: "Those whom my wife calls 'father' or 'mother', I call 'grandparent'. . ." It would have been quite as easy for our interpreters to have translated "my wife's father is called 'my grandparent'," though this form of expression was not used. Elsewhere we find interpreters translating that a given person was "comrade" of the informant's father. The age of the father, as we shall see presently, is a point of reference for reckoning the form of address to males of father's family. We may infer that the mother also serves as a point of reference, for the members of her family are addressed by a different set of rules. In addition, the wife addresses her husband's family according to rules similar to those used by her husband in addressing his own family. Similarly, the wife's family is addressed in ways comparable to the rules whereby a woman addresses her own kinsmen.

Linguistically, several terms reveal this tendency for the orientation

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[a] All Blackfoot terms for kinsmen are given in the possessive form, first person singular and include "my ——."

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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The female ego, addressing her husband's family, calls all persons older than her husband "grandparent." Those members of the family younger than her husband are, according to their sex, "son" or "daughter"; i.e., all persons who are called "younger sibling" by her husband become her "son" and "daughter." The children of these "sons" and "daughters" are "grandson" and "granddaughter." From our evidence a woman before marriage addresses her older brother's wife as "mother," and the latter replies by saying "daughter." After the marriage of the woman termed "daughter," the newly married woman calls her older brother's wife "daughter-in-law," though the brother's wife continues to call her "daughter" and addresses her daughter's husband as "son-in-law" (*nus.*). The usual relationship of avoidance between mother-in-law and son-in-law is optional here.

Those Younger than Ego

It will have been observed that for a male speaker both mother's and father's families produce "siblings," as the descendants approach the age level of ego. An older brother produces generations of "older brothers" and "older sisters" until they pass below ego's age level. Likewise older sisters produce generations of "older brothers" and "older sisters" until they pass the age level of ego. After passing the age level of ego, all these descendants of older siblings are called "younger sibling." At this point a difference occurs based on the sex of the younger sibling. Children of male younger siblings become ego's "grandchildren." Children of female younger siblings eternally produce "younger siblings." Thus only through a male descendant or male younger sibling can the male speaker have grandchildren. This is diagrammed in Figure 5.

For a female speaker (Fig. 6), brother's children, regardless of age, are "grandchildren," and as we have previously noted, this extends to the classificatory older brothers in mother's family. Sister's children regardless of age of the sister are her "sons" and "daughters" whose children become "grandchildren."

The wives of grandchildren are called by both sexes "daughter-in-law." The husbands of grandchildren are called by both sexes "son-in-law."

Variations in Terminology

We have attempted to present here what might be called the classic Blackfoot nomenclature of kin terms, formulated into a fairly coherent system. We must also note certain variations from this picture. Due to our small sample it is meaningless to place these forms of address in frequency distributions, so that we shall merely note the presence of variations.

There is a current tendency to classify females as well as males of the

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
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For the male, we observe a break between his relatively irresponsible life as a bachelor and his responsible position as head of a household. Furthermore, to many marriage tacitly meant giving up the warpath. Thus, war activities would be limited to economically unproductive forays which beat off enemy raids on the camp. To marry implied that one had sufficient horses and in a sense jeopardized one's future, for were these animals lost through an enemy raid, the owner was less free to go again on the warpath. The responsibility for the household was too great readily to be entrusted to another. 593 592 581

For the female there was also a break between the rôle of a daughter in the household of her parents and the rôle of wife in the tipi of her husband. This dichotomy was framed by the mother-in-law tabu, which necessitated her living either as wife or daughter but never both. Leaving the warm, affectionate, accepting relationship of a daughter to her mother she entered the strange tipi of her husband. Frequently this change was made at an early age to accustom her more quickly to the transition, but the change was, nevertheless, a traumatic one followed by frequent attempts to escape. Father and elder brothers were rigorous in policing the marriage contract and adopted measures to enforce it comparable to the breaking of a colt. 581 593 [606]

As a result of this negative attitude toward marriage on the part of both partners definite rewards had to be offered. A key to this is furnished by the kinship system. The male received enhanced status. By the brothers of his wife he was called *nustamo'* while he replied to them with *nustamox'kua*. The suffix *xkua*, also found in the word *nuxku'a* ("my son") implies depressing a person a generation in the sense of calling a person "child." Moreover, all children of the wife's brothers were "grandchildren" so that they honored him as "grandparent." In practice the relationship of husband to wife's brother did not always follow this pattern, for the concept of seniority dominated the kinship regulations. A brother of the wife older than her husband actually held the rein of authority, but it was a warm relationship between the two males which more nearly paralleled that of siblings. Frequently the sister and her husband camped near an older brother, where the husband helped with the horses and hunting. In turn when the husband became self-sufficient, a wife's younger brother might move to help him in maintaining his household. Thus a man increased the number of his siblings through marriage and hence his personal security. 601 607 [554] 561 602 607

For the woman there were also prestige rewards. By entering the tipi of her husband, she, too, received nominal enhancement of status. This was achieved by depressing a generation the husband's younger siblings, who became her "sons" and "daughters." In turn their children called her "grandmother." Though she had to pay respect to her husband's elders, the wives of these older brothers, and perhaps her husband's sisters, helped her 601 607 [554] 607 585

with seniority as the greater weight. However, regardless of seniority the wife's brother had the right to call home his sister in case of her being mistreated, and if this occurred soon after the initial marriage contract, return of the wedding gifts might be demanded. This prerogative was, of course, balanced by the more frequently exercised right of a husband to send his wife away in case of her failure to meet his demands. Normally, sex rather than family lines constituted the major cleavage, so that the two men cooperated to keep the woman faithful.

Similarly son and son-in-law were neatly balanced. The son, as we shall see presently, was the most important offspring yet little more important than the son-in-law. The rationale of the mother-in-law tabu, as stated by most women, hinges on the emotion of respect. Weight is given this phrasing in behavior, for the greater the prestige of the son-in-law, the greater the number of female in-laws who observed avoidance norms. The respect was also accompanied by periodic gifts exchanged between the son-in-law and parents-in-law. The supremacy of the son in the eyes of his parents may be seen by the following incident where a woman was dying. On her deathbed she summoned her son-in-law who entered the room with eyes lowered so as not to look in her face. After hearing the last words directed to other relatives, the son-in-law was addressed through his wife; the old woman said: "Be kind to your husband; treat him well after I am gone. I love you very much, but I love him better. I love him like a son."

Lineage was traced through the mother's line as well as through the father's. Incest was reckoned if any relationship between the two prospective spouses could be discovered. There was, however, little memory beyond three generations, when the line diffused into vagueness. With names a slight patrilineality showed itself in the desire to make a great name "live in every generation." Thus we find sons and grandsons of famous people still bearing such names as Crowfoot, Eagle Ribs, Old Sun and Many Swans. It would be unusual for a son-in-law to take a family name of this type, but if he did, it was deemed a great honor to the family, for which he would be given a good horse. More likely he would feel obliged to keep alive the important names of his own family. There were also great female names passed down in the line from mother to daughter, but their importance was overshadowed by the male names.

Inheritance of property was also multilateral. A list of recipients in order of their priority might run like this: older brother, younger brother, son, wife's brother, daughter's husband. Nominally, females might receive property and dispose of it, though in practice the husband of the woman received it and acted as agent. Horses, which made up the body of the legacy since household furnishings were parts of the mortuary tipi, were not ordinarily given to lone women, as they had no means for caring for them. The male

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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case, as where there was more than one wife, was a woman sent away, for above all the preservation of the household was primary. 593 571

Of course, unfaithfulness reflected unfavorably also on the reputation of the woman's family. Thus, a wife's male relative in cases where the woman was at fault cooperated in the attempts at education and sanctioned this severe treatment. In fact, this constituted a bond of interest between a wife's relatives and her husband. During the actual fracas between husband, wife and co-respondent, the person expected to restore equilibrium was the elder brother or father of the co-respondent. He, seeking to reduce the tension between the families, would send horses to the aggrieved husband. No rebuke would be given a son who was co-respondent not only because the woman was theoretically responsible, but, as one informant expressed it, "because the father would think back to the days when he was young and understand how his boy felt." 837 684 [554] [606]

Generally the strength of the conjugal family varies inversely with the strength of the blood bonds. Curiously, however, Plains individualism to the point of anarchy served to maintain the strength of both. When the irritations of the authority of one's elders became too great, one might establish his own tipi if economically possible. But the instability of the marriage bond often sent one back to renew the relationship with people of one's own blood. At one end the security of a man of accomplishment was in his own tipi of wives and children; at the other extreme, with complete failure of all endeavors, security could be found in the group of his own blood as refuge. 593 571 [182] [154]

Current Changes in Kinship

With the settling of the Blackfoot on a reservation, three main changes have occurred. The old economy disappeared, and in its place agriculture and herding under white management have been substituted. With this change the nomadic mode of life has been replaced by a semi-sedentary life within the limits of an Indian reserve. The band as the social unit for defensive war, residence and hunting, has disintegrated into its component units, the extended families. Whites have moved into southern Alberta, where they have engulfed the reserve. Though the Blackfoot, because of their status as treaty Indians, live separately from the Whites, the latter influence Blackfoot institutions. 657 178 [621] [596] [177]

In what ways has the kinship terminology been influenced by these changes? The majority of such changes can be subsumed under an extension of the principle of age-grading with reference to ego and ego's father. While formerly all the women of father's family were termed "grandparent," today father's younger sister becomes ego's "older sister," or "younger sib- 561 601 177 178

18: Wissler E-5 (1903-1912) 1913
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

561 575 The leader of this society has the say as to when the camp circle shall be formed and where. He pitches his tipi within the circle.

When dancing, the lances are held out in front almost vertical. The 561 drummers sit in the center. The members dance around them sun-wise, 575 except those with the straight-up bonnets, each bearing a rattle. The latter 796 go in the reverse direction. The dance is closed by the leader shaking a robe as if driving buffalo.

535 Mr. Duvall writes, "Near the close of the dance the man wearing the bonnet with the arrow dances in the lead while all the other members follow him. He attempts to break through the lines of the spectators who wave him back with blankets and robes and shout. The dancers seat themselves and then go through the same movements as before, trying to break through the crowd, etc. At the fourth attempt the spectators allow the dancers to pass, ending the dance."

[782] When the unwrapped sticks are offered at the sun dance a square rawhide bag is tied on containing the paint and moccasins used in the ceremony.

561 575 A curious rule is that when a man sells his membership, he must not meet the purchasers, they being as taboo as mother-in-law and son-in-law. Once [532] when visiting the Blood there was great confusion in the writer's tent over [784] the unexpected entrance of a new horn member. Like the mother-in-law [606] taboo, this can be removed by liberal gifts in a special manner.

[431] The belief is strong that horn members have power of life and death over all outsiders. A short magic formula is known to them with which the result [754] can be had.

Running-wolf, a very able Blood Indian, is authority for the statement 561 that after the bull society became extinct the horns took over many of their 575 rites. The headdress of the horn leader is said to have been worn by the 173 bulls. His very aged mother remembered seeing the bull dance. He called attention to the large part buffalo conceptions seem to play in the ceremonies and origin myths, whereas the kit-fox of the Piegan has a different mythical origin. One of our Piegan informants was positive that the buffalo did not figure in the kit-fox ritual in any manner whatsoever. It will be noted that this theory of Running-wolf is consistent with our accounts of the kit-fox. On the whole, we believe this to be the most probable explanation of the [554] differences between the horns and the kit-fox. In a way, this would also account for the unusual prestige now enjoyed by this organization.

nally I couldn't see my homeland, which was beyond the ration house. We came to a place that is called Willows-in-the-Water. As we came into the open, there was a house with a sod roof. We went in and they took my belongings. At one side there was a wooden bed, an old bed of the past, carved fancy. It was the bed of the one I was going to marry!

My blankets were all brought in. The boy had a sister. I asked her: "Have you got any toys?" She brought out a small rawhide container full with her toys. She sorted them out and she gave me some. Then she gave me the rawhide container to put my toys in.

I got very lonesome after I was there for three days. There was a lump in my throat. I wasn't thinking of my mother. I was thinking of my father, because I loved him most. A person asked me: "What is the matter with you?" I told her: "My necklaces are too tight, that is why I am crying." So she tied them looser. She knew that I was lonesome and longing for my parents. She said: "Both of you will go down, you will go to see your mother." I was anxious to go, so we went.

When we came to the top of the ridge I saw my home down in the valley. I was really happy. I didn't even greet my mother. I jumped on my father and was hugging him. I was so glad to see him. We slept there, and in the morning we started coming westward.

After two years, the mother of the one that I married went up west. . . . Her son-in-law was Crop-Eared Wolf, the head chief, and that is where she moved to. Then I had to prove myself. I started cooking right then. I was nine years old when she went up west and the other mother of my husband's—his real mother's sister—she was very mean to me. I used to carry two big buckets of water. Now what kind of fingers I have for all the work I did? That is why I am not mean to my daughters-in-law, because this woman was very mean to me. She never fed me any bread. Before I went to sleep I used to steal some bread and I went to bed with it and ate it.

593 and I find them dirty to eat." I started to cry because of it and my father right away looked and said: "What has happened to my girl?" My sister ran out of the house before she could be scolded.

869 My sister went away to boarding school before I did. That is when I learned the most about our old traditions and religion, because I was around my father all the time. My father and mother took very good care of their holy things, and my father learned all that he could about them. No wonder he grew to be a very old man. Nobody would think of ever going in front of him or in front of his altar. That was strictly forbidden in our religion.

872 Finally my sister and I were both at the boarding school, and we learned a lot of things from the nuns. They taught us about the modern ways of living, but even these are consid-
884 ered old-fashioned and becoming lost now. When we finished school we both got married and went to live in the homes of our mothers-in-law. And that was when we really learned how things were done and how life goes, after we got married. The rest was just training leading up to that, but our real life didn't start till after marriage and having children.

606 Mokakin's mother was really good at doing women's work, and she was pleasant to live with. It seemed to me that whatever she did turned out good. And she was very holy and knowledgeable in our religion, too. She and her husband had owned a lot of medicine bundles together. I used to just watch her beading and wonder how it always looked so perfect. I think I learned a lot about being a good wife and housekeeper from my husband's mother.

After I got married I became very lonesome for my father and mother. Even when we were all gathered at the Sun Dance grounds, my mother would camp far away from us and I would hardly see her. She was very old-fashioned, so she would not come anywhere near where her son-in-law was. She would come to our tipi very early in the morning and bring

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

606 food for us. She would just call us from outside and say: "Here is something already cooked, for you to eat." That was the old custom. Or she would tell me to come by her tipi later
602 in the day. When I had time I would go over there and she would have a new pair of beaded moccasins for my father-in-law. That was another custom, that the wife's mother made moccasins for the husband's father. When I went to get them I couldn't stay and visit long, because back then it was considered improper for me to be anywhere for long besides my own household. In those days respectful women were not seen idle around the camps, visiting and talking.

831 There were some women in my younger days who were well
848 known for their loose ways. They were usually older women, past my own age group. Often they were divorced or widowed. The people had various expressions for them. They would say: "She has a light child" (fathered by someone in town) or "She has been gotten between," or "This one has a white father." Women like this usually kept to themselves, because their friends would be ashamed of them. In my young time we didn't really know much about this, we just heard about it. We didn't know the details for ourselves except as rumors. Nowadays nobody thinks much about this same kind of behavior, because it goes on so much. That is one of the signs of how much life has changed in my time.

THE TIME THE NUNS BROUGHT US TO THE SUN DANCE

by Paula Weasel Head

796 This happened when my sister and I were still quite young, and we were students at the boarding school. It was summertime and the people were camped at the Sun Dance grounds. We were all wanting to go there. I was terribly lonesome for my father, who was camping there too.

dian was revived on herbal medicine to a well man again, just as fit as he was. And in competition his deed had no equal. 173 539

Four winters passed, when, at another big encampment at the Belly Buttes in Alberta, Many Swans daughter got married. Now there is a custom among these Indians, which still exists, whereby in-laws are restricted from meeting and talking to one another; but this restriction can be bought by enemy property. 173 539 606 431

One evening as Many Swans took to the entrance of his daughter's teepee a wooden bowl of pemmican, his curiosity overpowered him, and through the tiny opening of the lodge's entrance he peeped and feasted his eyes on the handsome features of his son-in-law.

After his daughter had taken the bowl of food, the father went back to his own lodge, and confessed his guilt to his Queen, who gave him a thorough tongue-lashing and [asked] him if he did not know that he needed enemy property to pay his son-in-law to look in his face.

"Ah Okee" (all right then), said Many Swans to his Queen, "if it needs enemy property, enemy property he will get. We shall move our camp tonight and start for the Big Horn River to the Crow Nation." 173 539 648

The next morning just his circle camp stones were to be seen of his outfit. It was a puzzle to all, why he did not leave a word to any one; they saw that he went south, but that was all.

On the way, Many Swans killed Buffalo. The meat filled many parflesh bags of dried meat and pemmican. The trip took the Blood Indians eight days.

Arriving in [the Crow] camp in broad daylight, the enemy did not suspect foul play from Many Swans. Many Swans picked out a big painted teepee, and set his own up beside it. On sighting the new lodge by the painted one, the Crow Indians came over from all sides of the encampment to ascertain who the newcomer was, and the origin of his expedition.

The owner of the big painted teepee was

Chief Wolf Tail, Head Chieftain of all the Crow Nation. Wolf Tail, standing outside his teepee, called a loud invitation for Many Swans and his family. 173 539 648

During the conversation, Many Swans explained his mission to the Chief, who accepted everything and welcomed him to his tribe, also promising him Crow property when he was ready to go home. This old custom of restricting sons-in-law from meeting willfully his parents-in-law might seem very silly to some readers, but the old Indians are even now very serious in regards to it, although it is dying off among the younger generation, very sorry to say. However, considering the lashing of tongues of some mothers-in-law, we think this is a very good custom. [606]

Many Swans, having fast buffalo runners, became very useful to the Crow Tribe in the way of getting Buffalo meat and was naturally welcomed by all. Now there is a custom among all Indians, that groups of men near the same age form Societies; these Societies meet and compete with their brave deeds.

The members of the groups whose deeds were not equalled by the opposing group would be the winners, and they would paint black on the faces of their rivals. It was great fun, and it was encouragement to the younger warriors to become real brave.

One evening, while Chief Wolf Tail was smoking with his friend Many Swans, he told him that there was to be a competition of deeds the next day, and that he belonged to one of the parties. Would he, the Blood, join his Society since he was the same age? "Ah, I will my friend," said the Blood, who spoke good Crow.

The next sun came with loud chantings of war songs, tom toms, and incantations from the opposing parties. Young men went about their chores with the staked horses. Smoke poured from the teepee tops while the morning meal was being cooked. Some did their cooking outside on tripods. After all this was over, the preparation for the competition began. The warriors began to

and relatives and friends rushed over to greet him. 173

After tenderly kissing his daughter, Many Swans told her that all the enemy property he brought was for her husband and that he may come over for a greeting. Thus was bought with enemy property this restriction which prevented these parents from seeing and meeting their son-in-law. The next day a big dance of victory was held in the Bougher Lodge over the arrow that Many Swans had recovered. 539 [606] [431]

BIRD RATTLER

Joe Beebe's uncle, Bird Rattler, lived among the Crows for several years during his youth. Bird Rattler was born in 1859 to Red Bird Tail, a Piegan, and Woman's Word, a Blood. His grandfather was also named Bird Rattler. His mother's parents were The Tongue Eater and Fine Success Woman. 177

When Bird Rattler was just a boy, he left home and ended up at a camp of Crow People, who live today in southeast Montana. They were then still at war with our People, though their Old Ways were much like ours. When he arrived among the Crows, Bird Rattler went up to an old man standing outside his lodge by some horses. He asked the man, in sign language, if he could take care of the horses in exchange for a place to sleep. It was a custom in the old days for poor or orphaned boys to live with a successful family and help care for their horses and property. [648] [201]

At first the Crows suspected Bird Rattler to be a spy for a war party, but when no enemy showed up he became an accepted member of the camp. The old man asked him if he could hunt buffalo. Bird Rattler put his fists to the sides of his head and wiggled his thumbs, explaining he could only hunt the young ones. Boys began training to hunt buffalo by going after the less dangerous young ones. The old man gave Bird Rattler one of his choice buffalo runners for the hunt. To [201]

24: Schultz F-3 (1877-1947) 1980 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

595 Another long silence. Broken by White Calf: "Badger Woman,
839 what have you to tell us about this?"
623 The old woman did not reply, nor look up. She stared at the fireplace, stonily, as though she had not heard the chief. And after a little he said, impatiently: "Come now, you heard me. Talk!"

Then as it became evident that she did not intend to reply, old Red Bird's Tail gave her a vicious nudge and hissed: "Talk, woman! Answer him, if you don't want me to make you cry."

"Don't strike me, you mean old man," she said to him, and then to White Calf, to us all: "Oh, how I hate tale-bearing. Hate it! Hate it! But if you must know: yes, we came upon the two, out there in the timber. But I don't believe that Otter Woman is that Blood man's sweetheart; she appeared to be angry; as though she had been fighting him."

"So I was. I was trying to get out my knife and stab him," Otter Woman cried.

"*Ha!* If he wasn't her sweetheart, if she hated him, why didn't she cry out, shout for help, as any frightened woman would have done?" *Otahki* loudly queried. And I saw that that impressed the chiefs, several of them nodding to one another, and Little Dog exclaiming: "*Ah*, Proof enough that she was there to meet the worthless Handsome Man."

It was then that we heard a commotion in the crowd that had gathered before the lodge; subdued talk and exclamations of surprise; and bounced in and stood glaring at us, Otter Woman's mother. And
●[606] all there looked up at her as though they could not believe their eyes, their mouths wide open in astonishment; for never before in the history of the tribe had a woman intentionally come into the presence of her son-in-law. It was something that was just not done; son-in-law and mother-in-law used every precaution to avoid even seeing one another at a distance.

Said this one now: "Yes, I know what you all think of me, but I don't care." She ran on and knelt beside her daughter, clasped her in her arms, and continued: "You, Little Dog, I heard what you said. Yes, and I know what you all think. But I am here to tell you that you are wrong; that my daughter has ever despised that Handsome

53: Uhlenbeck L-5 (1910-1911) 1912 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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539 matáisistsitot. A'utòsaie, ákitanis-
224 tsiuaie: A'nnik inán osíksinàni sisíkit. A'kstamæsìkomoauaie. Ki omí isíststàni ki omík inánik ákitaipakstsip. Omí ináni ákitomonimaie omí isíststàni. A'kitaipakstsimaie.

Their eyes [the bulls' eyes] were dusty. They would rub the knives a little, with them they cut their backs open. They were all skinned from the back down. Then they would throw out their kidneys. And the oil and grease would gather about their navels. They would throw down the yellow back-fat and spread it out. The man would tell his wife: Take and wash the manifold. When she came back, he would say to her: That leg-bone, the oily leg-bone, just break that. It would be broken for him. And the manifold and the marrow of the leg would burst by chewing. He would roll the marrow in the manifold. He would burst it by chewing it.

[492] A'iksistsinotau. Aiaiákapotsiu. Sotámotapòtsiu. Sotámaχkàpiuaie omá aké. Aχkóskau. Ki omá
539 nínàua kákàupiu. Omí otoχké-
593 man iχ'pitsípìmin aiísisoaχpi. Si-
606 kánoyisoyimanàii, makáutskimai-
224 kin, sapásoyinimàn, ókoani otsítaχsiχ'p, kénnyaie nitsísoyìsoau. Otánik omí otoχkéman: Noχkátsimàt. Omaχkínaiks ánnikskaie ámiuaiks. Amóksi akéks áiksòsiuu otsítaksìnamaχpuàuaists. Asótsimàni itaisínàkiuuaists,
[262] ki inúiskinètsimàni, nitúpskinetsimàni ki aisóisàtsis. A'nnyaie iχ'taníststsitapìop omí otokís. Omá nínàua támatapàisaisto: A'iχ'kitsísi ítsitsimànists, áiìakitopakìop.
539 A'mok Kináksisaχtàii ákitsiksi-
224 sapistutsop. A'mistoiauk sipátsi-
574 niuà. A'kitsiitsimàup. Mátsaistò:

He had done skinning. Then he began to pack his meat [on a horse]. Then he came home with the meat. Then the woman [his wife] brought it [the horse with the meat] home [to her own parents]. He [her husband] stretched his hand out [that means: gave the meat to his parents-in-law]. And the man [the husband] just sat [inside of his lodge]. His wife came in with the son-in-law's [that means: her husband's] food. The broken boss-rib, the short rib, the gut with the blood in it, the tripe where it is good, with those [four] things he [the son-in-law] was fed [by his parents-in-law]. He was told by his wife: Give an invitation. The old men, those were the ones he

53: Uhlenbeck L-5 (1910-1911) 1912 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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A´kopakìop. A´kitakàuop. Paχkâ´χkeyi ákitokèkaup. Aukékau. Aukanáipuiχ´tsii moyísts. A´ikskaniststsìau. Ki omá nínau itaníu: Annápaiinimàt. Itomátsàmiu. T'ámitoto einí. Itauámiaupiu. Itauákimau. Mótuiχ´tsii máksiniks. Ki áumatapiitsimàu. Istáχkaχtaiks únnikioàuaists akáutsim. 'Osákiks áitsipstsitsauànisiáu. Itauáχkyapapòtsiu.

A´istæmamotapìpiaii itapótsopiks. Saχkímaiks otæχkóskanoàuaiks. A´istæmamotapipoχtoχpi pikiχ´kitanists ósisæksimàu. A´istæmauasokòyiau áuatsimàiks. Sakiánpisi omá nínau, áistæmsokanìau: A´moχkauaistsiksìsau. Akéksáisokinvited. The women jerked the skin-meat from the skins which they would make their marks on [the skins that would be used as parfleches]. They made marks on the parfleches, and the long sacks, the real sacks, and the berry-sack. In that way we made use of the hide. The chief then again cried about the camp: When the slices of meat are dry, then we shall move. We shall move down over on Milk river [literally: Little creek]. Close by [that river] are the better buffalo. We shall skin [for lodges]. Again he cried around the camp: We shall move. We shall make a circle [to chase the buffalo]. We shall camp on Bad-water [a lake]. They camped. The lodges were all put up. Everything was quiet in the camp [literally: they — the lodges — were all quiet]. And the chief said: Now begin to catch your horses. Then they went on a hunt. Then they got to the bufffalo. They began to get on their horses. Then they chased the buffalo. The carcases were scattered all over. And they began to skin. They would take the teats of the cows with sucklings. There was foam on the back-fat from rubbing. They would go home with the carcases.

The horses that had meat on them would be taken all over [the camp]. They were what the married men presented [to their fathers-in-law]. The cooked ribs, that were all carried about, were the food given to the sons-in-law.

53: Uhlenbeck L-5 (1910-1911) 1912 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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Iskunátàpsiua áistɑmunìniuatùu, aχkûsímmaχs. Omá nínau omí otánni minipokàiinai omá manikâ'piu ánnyaie áuaχkiskomoàu. Itáumatskaχtakìu kepí ponokâ'mitaiks. A'nnyaie iχ'tanístaumatskaχtakìu omí otoχkéman. A'moia natoápii omá nínau áiûsìua nitúyi noχkátanistoχkutsìu omí ús. Ki istuyísi, ánnyaie otáuyikòk. Sotámokòsimiuaie. A'uχkoyìmiuaie. Ki omá saχkínau áunimiuaie. I'kàstuyisatsìauaiks omíksi kipitákeks. Mátoχkotsinoyìauatsiks. Samísi omá saχkínau, otoχkéman áisauatsìu. Otapótsis omá saχkínau, áikaksinisàu. Otoχkéman omíksi itapótsopiks áistamâχkanaitapìpiinai únni okóai. A'nniksaie otaχkóskan. Omá akéu itánnaipiksìstomoyiuàiks. Manistápiksistàpiχ'p íksisakuìsts ánnistskaie áuaχkoskatom. Ki kamítatsàpsis omá akékoan, kamítaχpatòmis, ákstaminitsìuaie. Mátakstuyisatsìuats únni, maáχsi.

sisters. They also gave horses to their elder brothers. Their fathers went about the camp to invite the people. Then [when the people were together] they began to tell the news, how they went [on their trip], how they travelled about, how they got horses, how they cut loose the horses. About those things they told the news. And then they were given a big meal of berry-pemmican. 539 727

Then the strong warrior was picked out, that he might be a son-in-law. A chief's daughter, a child of plenty, was driven home to that young man. He gave ten head of horses [to the girl's father]. That many he gave for his wife. In the same way the man, that had him for son-in-law, also gave the holy things [he owned] to his son-in-law. And in winter-time he [the son-in-law] would get food for him. He [the father-in-law] had him for a child. He called him his son. And the young-married man called him father. The old women were very much ashamed of [their sons-in-law]. They could not see them. When the young-married man went on a hunt, he took his wife with him. When the young-married man came back with the meat, he only got off [his horse]. His wife would just take all the horses that carried the meat to her father's lodge. Those were the ones that he gave to his father-in-law [properly he did not give the horses, 584 539 727 606 539 727 606 539 224

53: Uhlenbeck L-5 (1910-1911) 1912 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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but only the meat carried by them]. That woman [the mother-in-law] would pull the meat down [from the horses]. All the choicest parts of the meat he gave to his father-in-law. And if the girl [the young-married woman] was foolish, if she had a side-husband, then he [her husband] would kill her. He would not be ashamed of her father, his father-in-law.

539 Nepúsi nâχkáipæskau. Nitái-
595 niχ'katomamiχ'k opáskani satsi-kínamaipæskàn. Nínaiks iχ'táu-taksaistoiauaie, máχksipæskàni: O'kí, anétakìt, áχkitunnasatsikì-namaipæskàup. Annístsi matáini-stainiχ'katòm otákòpiχ'tàn. A'n-nistsii onâ'χksisotàpsìmiks áinà-natòmian. A'kéks áikaχtsìiχ'kiau. Oχkíni annístsisk otsítakaχ-
539 tspuàuaists. Nisóinists. A'nni ni-
524 tánnokakinakuiàu. A'nni nitoá-piksimàists. Nátokaists nitáiniχ'-katòm, pitséksinai. Kannístsi nátо-kai nitáiniχ'katòm, kanáumoχ-pìisaists, náu. Nistókiòmoχpìi-saists, namístokiau nitáiniχ'katò-maists omikátsimàn. Annístsi àkéks: Mistsísi áipiksiìnimiauaists. Inoksíaists. Iχ'tástamàkaχtsìau-aists. Nitáinikatâ`χp istámakaχ-tsìsin. A`kéks annyaie nitáikaχ-tsìau. Nínaiks áipeksikaχtsìau. Kepúyi otsítsitskimatsoàuaists. Omá túkskaie otsinán inoyíu, ksisátàtsisi. Ki amóksi tapóχtsik otsinánoaii saχkíu. A'nnistsiaie aitáksisatàiau. Kinímiua áumo-tsùkiu. Mátsitstsii pápainimìksai. Nitáiniχ'kataiàu áipèksiksisatài.

In summer they [the Peigans] had a dance. They called their dance „scrape-leg-dance". The chiefs went through the camp crying, that they would have a dance: Come on, make haste, that we may have a scrape-leg-dance. They called some other dances of theirs their „main-dances". Their warriors owned those [main-dances]. The women gambled. It was with bones, that they gambled. There were four of them [of those bones]. This is the length of the bones. This way they threw them. [Saying the last two sentences Blood showed me, how long the bones were, and how they were thrown]. They called two of them „snakes". The other two, if they turned over, were called „six". If the two turned over twice, then they were called „falling on the edge". Another [game] [that] the women [had] [is as follows]: They peeled sticks. They were long sticks. They played a stake-game with them. It was called the „stake-game". That is

54: Lancaster F-3(1958-1966)1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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corral, so Cross Guns and I crept up to the corral ready to run them off. The horses were not there. The Crees were smart enough to take their horses out to their night hiding place when it was too dark for any possible watchers to see what was going on, and my brother and I spent the whole night in a futile effort to find where the animals were hidden. We could find nothing in the brush, or along the creek where you might expect to find horses hidden, but toward dawn we thought we heard horses on a flat toward the south of the camp. Sure enough, we found a deep little wash that the Crees had converted into a corral by stretching ropes across in two places. We could have taken the horses right then, but it was already breaking daylight so we holed up for the day and made off with the horses the following night. Of the total of eleven horses, I allowed Cross Guns to take six and kept five for myself.

By traveling nights and hiding out days, we made it home in five nights.

Almost invariably the Chief ends his story-telling sessions with, *"Kèn-yai-au-wah-nay-náh-pi-quon."* This translates literally into, "That's what the old White man says," but the satirical connotation which encompasses the phrase's true significance is missed completely until one becomes acquainted with the circumstances which gave original coinage to the expression. It all happened as follows:

Iron Breast, also known as First-To-Grab-A-Gun, married a woman of whom his father, old Tearing Lodge, did not approve. The woman was virtuous and hard-working, her only defect being that her hair was prematurely gray, but old Tearing Lodge was very unkind in his criticism of his daughter-in-law, complaining that his son had married a gray-haired old woman who was fit for nothing.

One night Tearing Lodge was seated in his teepee, smoking and talking with some of the other old men, quite unaware that his daughter-in-law, who had spent the afternoon repairing the old man's robes and clothing, was seated quietly in the shadows. After a while old Tearing Lodge began to say unpleasant things about his daughter-in-law, and finally the daughter-in-law spoke up. She said, "Why does Tearing Lodge say such unkind things about me? I have never harmed him in any way."

Now, this put Tearing Lodge in quite a spot, but the old fellow was equal to the situation. Pretending that he had not heard his daughter-in-law speak and that he was still unaware of her presence in the lodge, he addressed himself to his old cronies: "Yes, gentle-

195 men, as I was saying . . . All of these unflattering remarks about
606 my daughter-in-law are merely things I overheard an old White man saying. Yes sir, that's what the old White man says."

195 This is a true story, not a fabrication, and the Blackfoots with
522 their universal appreciation of humor quickly adopted Tearing Lodge's face-saving comment as a part of their everyday speech. *Kèn-yai-au-wah-nay-náh-pi-quon* may also be expressed as *Nàh-pi-quon-sáu-wah-nay* (which means the same thing), and sometimes the final syllable is changed from *quon* to *quax* (which merely changes "man" into the plural form, "men"). At any rate, "That's what the old White man says" has become an integral part of Piegan life, and it is this same phrase that the old-timers laughingly employ to end a street-corner bull-session.

122 The Chief, Jim and I have all been sipping hot toddies during the story-telling, and I think that by the time I finish this we will all be ready for the sack.

55: Fisher E-5 (1962-1963) 1983 NF6 Blackfoot NF6 Blood

606 Another aspect of the Blood's predisposition toward the use of shame sanctions was their "mother-in-law avoidance taboo" of the late nineteenth century.

> You who have read the book "Blackfoot Lodge Tales" will remember that it was not allowable for a Blackfoot to meet his mother-in-law. . . . Among the Blackfeet a man could never visit the lodge of his mother-in-law, she could never enter his lodge when he was at home, both were obliged to go far out of the way, to endure any discomfort in order to avoid meeting at any time or place. This queer custom caused not a few ludicrous scenes. I once saw a tall and dignified chief fall backwards behind a counter as his mother-in-law appeared in the doorway of the store. I have seen a man drop by the side of a trail and cover himself with his robe, and once I saw one jump off a high cut bank, clothes, robe, and all into deep water, as the mother-in-law suddenly appeared near by.[50]

[178] Today such avoidance is minimal, although the topic of mother-in-law is fraught with difficulty. In the past, however, such a taboo, and the ludicrous actions it engendered, were manifest evidence for active shame sanctions in Blackfoot society. Like the duties of a man, the proscriptions upon non-Indian men, and the dichotomy between white trader and Indian community, this aspect of shame and propriety indicates the boundaries of the Indian group. Schultz indicates that this taboo did not include him. He says in reference to his mother-in-law (Nat-ah'-ki's mother), "I had taken a fancy to my mother-in-law, and I was glad to have her come around. After a time I even succeeded in getting her to talk to me."[51]